

114 The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the
 175 past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by
 726 Krause in 1908 and by Kisenberth in the same year and the
 following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-
 Mēkubengokré by this author. Kisenberth (2, 40) heard Mēku-
 bengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between
 their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the
 middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] ex-
 plain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in
 a Mēkubengokré village (*ibid.*, 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18
 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

171 I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural
 traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many
 as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the
 remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

621 Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de
 171 Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed
 out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a
 result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this para-
 graph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

621 In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not
 only countered by the authority of Kamaĩrahó in Tampiĩtũua, but
 were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is
 [73] to say, terrible epidemics. Kamaĩrahó's authority became ap-
 [554] parent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various vil-
 lages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present popu-
 lation of Tampiĩtũua had originated. Those who had revealed
 their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the informa-
 tion in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying
 [579] activity of Kamaĩrahó was justified by the fact that old antago-
 nisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, al-
 though they were seldom recalled.

578
621 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distinguished from the other inhabitants of Tampititua by their scowl, their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice, and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days' march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established contact with Tampititua through trade and a few marriages. I still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women, and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninobó, [123] became my close friend and an exception among his people in his increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent many Tampititua people from hating him. Perhaps it even increased the antagonism.

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578 Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the village that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that already in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampititua that they would move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and remained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north. [622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who had been accused of causing the death of Kamairi's wife, joined them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in 1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the attack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no absolute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this communal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled from the community. It is well to note, however, that this hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time [361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. [224] Furthermore, when people leave the village for several days with their [126] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take [952] along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to carry because they are few and light in weight.

299 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated
476 plot within the clearing where Tampititaua stood.

361 The center of Tampititaua was the takana, the large men's
342 house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their
345 entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the
inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the
chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the second-
ary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched be-
tween the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the
houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting
for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

361 The "village of the tapir," however, had not always stood
166 in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my
departure (cf. Ch. 8). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far
away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, how-
ever, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues
away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of
the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable,
[62] that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances
[578] were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined
together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions,
and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here]
[110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller,
196 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of
166 graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella
361 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all
their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is
ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has
been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are
never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from
[74] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the
[73] floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial
may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter
period of time.

361 Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but
it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5
the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which

[372] Tampititaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 78]

171 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the
 411 above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both
 specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club
 411 is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab
 [724] their clubs when quarrelling with a member of their own tribe, but
 [578] in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to
 a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of
 411 Tamplitana held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only excep-
 535 tionally a club, in the kaô, or great nocturnal group dance, they
 held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely
 to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the day-
 time dances. They were displayed to make clear the character
 of kaô, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompany-
 ing chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Fur-
 [721] thermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors
 stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their
 Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-
 224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of
 411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and
 [137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that
 is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march be-
 tween the village and the river I observed that all the men carried
 bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another spe-
 [683] cialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who
 are regarded as evil sorcerers.

The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-háia, "pointed stick," or mina,
 114 "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no
 411 references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the
 [439] upper Xingu tribes. In Monroya's work (2, II), however, we find
 [171] the terms ibiritaquibae, "pointed stick" (haquá, "point") and my,
 "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the
 [535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel
 showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to
 those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their
 dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-
 171 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donoll)
 411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 128). It was likewise a

and only 147 inhabitants. This is an extraordinary example of the ravages of European diseases among a native American people.

Tampitawa (Village of the Tapir) is composed, therefore, of a residue from all of the five original villages. All of the customs and ceremony attached to inter-village relations have of course disappeared. People remember their former village affiliation, or that of their parents. They still speak of a person as being "the son of Fish Village," but village loyalty, once strong, has disappeared. Formerly, villages were basically endogamous, but some marriage outside of the village did take place. Today, only three people can say that they are descendants of people from Tapir Village. Ancient inter-village antagonism existed, especially between Tapir and the village which joined with it in 1900. Today, this conflict is only remembered under the stress of some quarrel and is referred to only as a taunt.

Depopulation has had little effect on the economic life of the Tapirapé. They are basically a forest agricultural people with large plantations. Manioc is their staple. Plantations are large enough, and the economic organization fluid enough, to allow for the support of large numbers of refugees for a year or so until they can make gardens for themselves. Refugees have joined one of the large households, at present eight, each with some twenty-five to thirty people. Formerly these households were matrilineal groups headed by a man of high prestige. His wife's relatives formed the matrilineal group and he demanded labor from his numerous sons-in-law (husbands of daughters of wife, including extended "daughters"). The coming of refugees disrupted these matrilineal households. If a refugee woman lacked a close female kin, her husband often arranged for habitation with a friend or a relative of his. Men of high status offered the hospitality of their houses to incoming men of rank. Today, therefore, many reasortments of relatives live under one roof, and two and even three separate groups of female relatives live under as many older men, whereas formerly they would have formed one household under the leadership of one household head. In no one case, does a man control a complete household as he would have done under the old system.

161 had continued during the last thirteen years. Yet I found
 179 that even with so small a population Tapirapé society
 still functioned as an organized unit and Tapirapé culture
 persisted, although highly modified by the events of the
 last thirteen years. Several points of theoretical impor-
 tance can be learned from recent Tapirapé history and
 from some observations on social and cultural changes
 since 1940.

175 The sketchy outline of Tapirapé history between
 (127) 1940 and 1953, which I have been able to piece together
 with the help of the Indians themselves, of Sr. Valentijn
 Gomes (the officer of the post of the Brazilian Indian
 Service which services the Tapirapé, and my companion
 during both visits to the tribe in 1939-40), and of a pub-
 lished report by Herbert Baldus,² indicates the tre-
 mendous shocks this society has suffered in the last decade.
 Briefly, this history is as follows: In 1941, just a year
 after my 1940 visit, a serious epidemic broke out in the
 Tapirapé village in which I had lived. As usual, following
 175 an epidemic during which there is a series of deaths,
 (127) 579] dissension broke out within the village. A well-known
 shaman was killed and a group of Tapirapé ("perhaps
 thirty in number") fled the village to the Brazilian town
 of Furo de Pedra, some two hundred kilometers from
 their village. It is reported that at least two people died
 during this trip and that the group returned to their
 village infected with common colds. By August of 1940,
 Sr. Gomes was able to ascertain that twenty-six people
 had died since June of the same year. In September of
 175 1941 an Indian Post for the protection of the Tapirapé
 648 was opened, but it was established at the mouth of the
 Tapirapé River, near the Carajá whom the Tapirapé
 feared and near Brazilians from whom they contracted
 new infections. That year, a few Indians visited the
 Post but after the death of a young Tapirapé man at
 the Post and an unfortunate experience with a group
 of drunken Brazilian men, only rarely did a Tapirapé

2. "Trilhas da História do Araguaia e o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios", in *Anais do Museu Paulista*, N. 2, Vol. II, São Paulo, 1948, pp. 127-128.

- 683 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
 (693) an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Informants
 (256) could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been revenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
- 683 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
 783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *marintrunkawera* must retire to his hammock and here eat of a white clay, *iwé éiepa*, and drink until he vomits of a brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire
 (327) body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint
 (302) in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of *kauit* (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

- 276 Among the Tapirape tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirape village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

(16) When I left the Tapirape in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. *Kamaité* killed, avoided, and criticized *Kamait* because he had killed *Kauitwari*, *Kamaité's* wife's father. The antagonism was never over. When they met they treated each other formally and coldly. Other Tapirape told me that *Kamaité's* wife continually gossiped about the behavior of *Kamait's* wife, "because her husband had killed *Kamaité's* father".

(17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed
 279 to be poisonous.

47/ under the leadership of the antaiva of the Anantxá, Tampantxá and Vuirá. Here the Anantxá were present in larger numbers than the other groups, for they were, so to speak, the contractors of this particular apatxirí. No division into three groups was evident, however, as the work progressed. All the Tānāvē, Anantxá, and Vuirantxinió mixed together at random.

Tampantxá marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those spots without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. [554] He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others.

Antaiva of other groups were also present and working, such as Urukumi of the Tānāvē and Kamairá of the Vuirantxinió. Vūatanami had gone to his garden. As usual, he probably wanted to avoid meeting Kamairahó, whom he hated. Maninobó had stayed home. Kamairahó sat on a felled tree and watched.

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- 7/6 [100] Each man, as soon as he felt the desire to work, chose a tree for himself, as he pleased, in the vicinity of the antaiva, and the contest began. It did not seem to be a contest against the fellow workers, a fight to win over the others by achieving more, but a joyous contest against the timber and the big forest, against the forest as a whole, for it was not merely a matter of conquering each tree individually with the brute strength of the arms, but also a matter of strategy. First an incision in a good number of trees was made in such a way that they would all fall in the same direction when their tostering neighbor leaned against them from the opposite direction. Only then was a forest giant felled, and felled in such a way that it dragged with it to the ground its fellows weakened by the ax.

4/ After extreme caution for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent.

The Indian works according to a different rhythm than that followed by the men of our civilization. He does not carry out the same task every day, at a certain time and for a certain period of time, but gives himself up with all his senses and all his strength to whatever task seems to him most necessary at the moment and best suited to his creative urge. When he does this, he does not spare himself but persists in his heavy work until he is completely exhausted. For example, he gives himself to the felling of trees with such fanaticism that on the following day he can hardly get out of his hammock owing to the muscular pain. [101] As soon as he feels a little better, he carves a bow, stove or weaves a basket. Suddenly, he feels a craving for

The Fear in Tapirape Culture

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Fear was present in the formalization of quarrels full of hatred, a formalization which obliged the opponents to avoid direct contact. They had to remain hidden from one another and not interrupt the speech of their antagonist, but only reply when he had finished. One such quarrel began in the afternoon of June 27, 1933. Kamairahé lay in his hammock with open eyes and didn't answer when several people called him. Manimohé, the eldest man of the neighbouring house, begins to pronounce insults. He stays inside his house. The entrances of the houses are so arranged that it is impossible to look from the interior of one house into the interior of another.⁴ Kamairahé's wife stays outside between the two houses without looking towards either of them. She faces the man's house in the centre of the village and replies to Manimohé with extraordinary gravity, in a level voice and with calm gestures. They are discussing a question of shamanism. Manimohé seems to be doing the provoking. The other persons present continue with their habitual activities, neither laughing nor speaking. After a while Manimohé's aggressiveness seems to increase. Kamairahé's wife joins her husband and the eldest man of her house places himself close to the entrance but inside, holding a club and railing violently in a loud and monotonous voice. When he finishes, profound silence rules for some moments. Then the other replies in the same tone. Never does one interrupt the other. This rule is also observed when two Tapirape women have a quarrel as well as among other South American tribes.⁵ The quarrel between the two men, one always hidden from the other, lasted until sunset. Late that night the old man of Kamairahé's house, where I was also living, asked me for my electric torch and went with his wife for water by a very roundabout way in order to avoid the proximity of Manimohé's house. These precautionary measures—the lamp, the company of his wife, and the detour—evidently the fear he had of the adversary. Supposing then that fear has contributed to create the institution of formalized quarrels we may consider it a factor of socialization. But is it only a tribal behaviour pattern or also fear that causes the victim of theft to abstain from any exteriorized reaction? Frequently I observed that the theft of some thing obtained from the white men, for instance a necklace of glass beads, was known immediately in the whole village; the victim, however, suffers in silence without any demonstration and doesn't attempt any revenge.

As an institution which is essentially a product of fear appears that of the shaman. Nervousness in certain South American tribes and little developed in others, it is so important to the Tapirape that they informed me of certain local groups having transferred their independence and joined the inhabitants of another village because there were no more shamans among them.⁶ This becomes credible when one considers Charles Wagley's⁷ quotation of one of his informants' words: "Without our pañti, all we Tapirape die." According to the same author,⁸ "the greatest privilege which Tapirape culture offers accrues to the shaman." This seems that the first place in Tapirape society belongs to the person who defends the community against the ever terrible dangers of the supernatural world. It is collective fear which gives him this status. But the easy and continuous contact with the forces of destruction makes the shaman for his part also a man to be feared, and consequently exposes him to other dangers, to dangers which we would not call supernatural. When cases of death occur in the village, and especially several in a short time, it is usual to attribute the cause to a shaman and therefore many shamans are murdered. There is also collective fear which, in such cases, moves a Tapirape to defend the community

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and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite ^{A son} child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated ⁵⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁸ during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

Puberty.—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over ⁸⁸² the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body ^[302] is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip ^[301] plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied ^[302] at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation ⁸⁸¹ for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers ^[292] set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, top, left). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced ^[302] with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are ^[592] usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women.

Marriage.—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and ^[621] people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable ^[578] intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one ^[572] village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at ⁵⁹² least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage ^[161] rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there ^[182] are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are ^[178] also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where ^[591] his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

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124 Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urakumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

122 After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiermen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to welcome us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

115 My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964

SP22 Tapirape SP22

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115 could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for some-
593 thing to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for
visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all
of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I
know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know
how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

115 Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about
123 Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife
sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone
(I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to
inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently
increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other
Tapirape who were envious of the presents he received. The story
was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact,

54 I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he
was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (ac-
tually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had
helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought

3-5 revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's
house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously
355 injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten
since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to
criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his
relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapi-

184 rapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be re-
562 vealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the
1915 women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but
merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought
into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversa-
tion never to refer to any bit of personal information that some
informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were
203 rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave
(I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies
about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader
because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because
I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

115 Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I
123 could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews.
He now viewed us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

Champukwi of the Village of the Tapir

not at once offered coffee, he left offended. But the very next day he might return, gay and joking, yet without his former patience for teaching or explaining Tapirapé culture. Once he returned tired from a hunting trip, and, irritated by his wife, he beat her with the flat side of his bushknife and marched off in anger, thoughtfully taking the family hammock and a basket of manioc flour, to sleep four nights in the forest near his garden. Soon afterwards, he left his wife to take the wife of a younger man. This did not become a major scandal in the village. After some tense yet calm words between the two men, it seemed clear that the young woman preferred Champukwi and the abandoned husband peacefully moved into the men's house. Champukwi's former wife and their two young daughters continued to live with her relatives as is the Tapirapé rule. But the switch of spouses caused tension between Champukwi and his former wife's kinsmen, and between Champukwi and the abandoned husband's kinsmen; and, to multiply his woes, he now had a new set of in-laws to satisfy. For about a month thereafter I rarely saw Champukwi; he obviously avoided our house. When we met in the village or in the men's house, he simply said that he was busy repairing his house or hunting.

Discussing emotions with someone from a culture as widely different as Tapirapé is from my own was difficult, and the language barrier was still a real one. Although my Tapirapé vocabulary was increasing, it was hardly adequate to probe deeply into emotional responses; nor was Champukwi given to introspection. I shall probably never fully understand Champukwi's temporary rejection of me, but the cause was probably both sociological and psychological. First, his apparent influence with me and our close friendship had created antagonism on the part of other villagers. By rejecting the outsider, he now hoped to reinsert himself in his own society. A second, deeper and more personal reason, contributed to his rejection of me; he had told me too much about himself, and feared that he had lost face in the process. Also, it was obvious that I was growing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the language improved and my information about the culture grew. Finally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neglect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.